

Message Text

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S E C R E T LUSAKA 2410

NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV RH US UK
SUBJ: RHODESIA: MEETING WITH NKOMO

REF: MAPUTO 850

1. NKOMO RECEIVED GRAHAM AND ME ALONE AND IN A QUIET MOOD ON FRIDAY MORNING, JULY 7. DANIEL MADZIMBAMUTO JOINED US TOWARD THE END OF THE CONVERSATION. NKOMO LISTENED WITHOUT INTERRUPTION TO OUR ACCOUNT OF THE PROGRESS TO DATE INCLUDING MUGABE'S REACTIONS TO THE PROPOSAL CONTAINED REFTEL.

2. NKOMO RESPONDED BY SAYING THAT IT WOULD NOT WORK. HE HAD DISCUSSED IT WITH HIS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND THEY WERE OPPOSED TO THE IDEA. THE WHOLE THING WOULD BREAK DOWN AND ALL OUR HARD WORK WOULD BE UNDONE. WE SAID THAT SMITH UNDERSTOOD THAT THERE WAS NO POINT IN COMING TO A MEETING OF THIS KIND UNLESS HE WAS WILLING TO MOVE OFF OF THE MARCH 3 AGREEMENT, AND WE THOUGHT THERE WAS A GENERAL DISPOSITION AMONG THE VARIOUS PARTIES IN SALISBURY FOR SERIOUS CONVERSATIONS. WE STILL INTENDED THE MEETING TO BE UNDER UK-US AUSPICES AND BASED ON THE PRINCIPALS OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSAL. HOWEVER IF THE MEETING DID NOT COME OFF OR WAS A FAILURE, THEY WERE READY TO GO AHEAD ON THEIR OWN. THERE WAS A LOT OF TALK ABOUT DOING AWAY WITH ELECTIONS COMPLETELY,

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((((OMISSION 3 OF 4 LINES))))

BE NO ELECTION WITHOUT REGISTRATION. WE SAID THAT CANCELLING REGISTRATION DID NOT MEAN ABANDONING THE ELECTIONS. INDIA, FOR INSTANCE, HELD ELECTIONS WITHOUT REGISTRATION. THERE ARE GROUPS IN FAVOR AND OTHERS OPPOSED TO ELECTIONS. THE LATTER PROPOSE SIMPLY TURNING OVER

POWER AT THE END OF THE YEAR TO A COALITION WITHOUT ELECTIONS AT ALL. WE KNEW THAT THIS WOULD MEAN THE WAR WOULD CONTINUE--AS MACHEL HAD SAID--BUT IT WAS A DEFINITE POSSIBILITY. NKOMO SAID THAT SMITH PLANS TO BE AROUND FOR QUITE A WHILE. HE WILL NOT ABANDON THE WHITES AND WILL NOT TURN OVER POWER TO PEOPLE LIKE MUZOREWA. WE REPLIED THAT ONE WAY OR ANOTHER FORCES INSIDE RHODESIA WOULD MAKE IT DIFFICULT FOR SMITH TO STAY AROUND AFTER DECEMBER 31.

3. NKOMO SCOFFED WHEN WE MENTIONED THAT THE MEETING WOULD BE BASED ON THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS. THAT WHOLE BUSINESS IS OUT OF DATE NOW, HE SAID. HE KNEW THE PEOPLE WITH WHOM HE WAS DEALING. IF THERE WAS A MEETING OF THE KIND WE WERE PROPOSING SMITH WOULD BEHAVE LIKE A "COCK". THAT WOULD AGGRAVATE MUGABE WHO WOULD BECOME UNPLEASANT AND WITH IMPOSSIBLE PEOPLE LIKE TEKERE AROUND THE WHOLE THING WOULD BLOW UP. NKOMO SAID WE HAD ACCOMPLISHED A LOT TO BRING SMITH AROUND THIS FAR. NOW WE SHOULD JUST STAND FAST FOR A WEEK OR TWO AND LET HIM DO SOME WORK OF HIS OWN. HE WOULD TALK TO MUGABE IN KHARTOUM AND BE IN TOUCH WITH US SOON "SOMEHOW." HE NEEDED TO TALK TO DR. OWEN, BUT HE DOES NOT PLAN TO TRAVEL TO KHARTOUM VIA LONDON.

4. COMMENT: I HAVE NEVER BEFORE HEARD NKOMO SPEAK ABOUT MUGABE OR ANY OF HIS FOLLOWERS IN SUCH A FRANK MANNER. I MAY BE EXTRAPOLATING TOO FAR BUT I HAD THE DEFINITE IMPRESSION THAT HE IS WORKING ON SOME KIND OF A REORGANIZATION AND CAN ONLY GUESS
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THAT THIS INVOLVES THE HAMADZIRIPI GROUP WHICH "ESCAPED" FROM MOZAMBIQUE RECENTLY. THIS NEW TURN OF EVENTS AFFECTS THE WAY JOHNNY AND I PROCEED FROM HERE. FOLLOWING ARE OUR PLANS:

A. MACHEL: WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD INFORM BILL DE PRESS AND THE BRITISH EMBASSY IN MAPUTO THAT IN THE EVENT VIEIRA ASKS THEM ABOUT OUR PROGRESS WITH NKOMO THEY REPLY AS FOLLOWS: NKOMO DID NOT GIVE US A GO AHEAD WHEN WE TALKED TO HIM IN LUSAKA. HE PLANS TO CONSULT WITH MUGABE IN KHARTOUM AND THEY WILL REPLY TO OUR PROPOSAL AT THAT TIME. IN THE MEANTIME, WE ARE PURSUING THE SUBSTANCE OF THE MEETING WITH THE PARTIES IN SALISBURY.

B. NYERERE: WE THINK WE SHOULD PROCEED TO DAR AS PLANNED ON TUESDAY IN SPITE OF NKOMO'S MESSAGE TO US. WE SHOULD BRING NYERERE UP TO DATE ON OUR EFFORTS TO CONVENE AN UNANNOUNCED ALL PARTIES MEETING OF PRINCIPALS INCLUDING MUGABE'S APPARENT WILLINGNESS TO ATTEND. WE WOULD SAY THAT MUGABE AND NKOMO WILL DISCUSS THE MATTER AT KHARTOUM. IT SEEMS TO US IMPORTANT THAT NYERERE KNOW AT LEAST AS MUCH AS MACHEL IN VIEW OF THE KHARTOUM MEETING.

C. KAUNDA: I WILL TRY TO SEE KAUNDA OR AT LEAST CHONA OVER THE WEEKEND OR MONDAY TO BRING THEM UP TO DATE AND INFORM THEM OF MUGABE'S REACTION. I WOULD ALSO PASS ON TO HIM NKOMO'S RESPONSE TO US IN SOMEWHAT GREATER DETAIL THAN WE PROPOSE USING WITH MACHEL AND NYERERE.

D. GAYLARD: JOHNNY, WHO IS RETURNING TO SALISBURY THIS NOON, WILL SEE GAYLARD, INFORM HIM OF MUGABE'S REACTION AND SAY ONLY THAT NKOMO AND MUGABE ARE GOING TO CONSULT IN KHARTOUM AND BE BACK IN TOUCH WITH US. HE WOULD ALSO SAY THAT WHEN I JOIN HIM IN SALISBURY NEXT WEDNESDAY, AFTER OUR TRIP TO DAR, WE WOULD LIKE TO BEGIN DISCUSSIONS IN GREATER DEPTH OF THE SUBSTANCE WHICH AN ALL PARTIES MEETING WOULD GET INTO AND THAT WE WOULD HOPE TO BE ABLE TO DISCUSS THIS WITH SMITH INFORMALLY AND AT SOME LENGTH DURING THE WEEK.

5. GRAHAM IS COMMUNICATING SIMILARLY WITH DR. OWEN.

6. UNTIL WE HEAR FURTHER FROM NKOMO WE SEE THE ABOVE AS THE ONLY WAY WE CAN PROCEED. SINCE I WILL NOT BE SEEING JOHNNY'S
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INSTRUCTIONS FROM DR. OWEN BETWEEN NOW AND TUESDAY I WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR KEEPING ME INFORMED OF YOUR REACTIONS ON THE ABOVE AND DISCUSSIONS WITH THE BRITISH ABOUT THEM. LOW

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